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Proceedings

OF THE

Wesley Historical Society

Editor : REV. WESLEY F. SWIFT

Volume XXVIII

September 1952

EDITORIAL

EVERY member of the Wesley Historical Society will wish to congratulate our Secretary, the Rev. Frank Baker, who has been awarded the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the University of Nottingham for a thesis entitled: "The Rev. William Grimshaw (1708-1763) and the eighteenth-century revival of religion in England". Dr. Baker's friends never cease to marvel at his capacity for meticulous and sustained research, his mastery of detail, and the wide range of his interests, though they often wish that in his eagerness to crowd his days he would not so frequently burn the candle at both ends. He is a tower of strength to our Society, and his learning as well as the contents of his numerous filing cabinets are always at the disposal of any inquiring student. We have been privileged to read in typescript the thesis on Grimshaw of Haworth. It is a massive work on an important subject, and will never be superseded for the simple reason that every possible scrap of information, direct and indirect, has been carefully gathered and woven into the theme. We are glad to know that the work is being prepared for publication, and meanwhile we rejoice in Dr. Frank Baker's new distinction and the reflected glory which has thereby come to our Society.

* * * *

We did not know that there existed a Swedish Methodist Historical Society until a letter recently arrived from its Secretary, the Rev. Vilh. Wanquist. The Society was founded in 1939, and counts all the members of the Swedish Annual Conference as its members. The work is financed by a yearly grant from the Swedish Methodist Conference. Enlightened Conference! Happy Society! A collection has been made of Methodist books, pictures and manuscripts, both in Swedish and in other languages, and a bibliography has been prepared of Methodist books printed in Sweden. Mr. Wanquist adds: "We are glad to be a little branch of the great worldwide tree of Methodist Historical Associations." We share that pleasure, and wish the Swedish Society a long and prosperous life.

HUGH BOURNE, 1772-1852

A Centenary Tribute

ILLUSTRATION: Hugh Bourne. This life-size plaster cast was the work of William Andrews, a Bradford architect, with whom Bourne stayed as guest for the Bradford Conference of 1839. The original is in the Library of Hartley Victoria College, Manchester, and this reproduction has not previously been published.

I

HUGH BOURNE was born at Ford Hays, an isolated farmstead in the parish of Stoke-on-Trent, in Staffordshire, on 3rd April 1772. That moorland origin left an ineffaceable mark on his life and character. Taught the rudiments of education by his mother, he attended village schools, where he made rapid progress, but about the age of twelve he was removed to undertake work on his father's farmstead, in the trade of wheelwright and timbering. As a small child he had awareness of spiritual things, in part due to his mother's care for the souls of her children. An early sense of his own sinfulness grew upon him. "That conviction was a matter between God and myself: no human being knew of it, neither durst I speak of it to anyone." For long years he sought for the light, which eventually broke upon him in the spring of 1799, whilst he "was reading, meditating, praying and endeavouring to believe". Books were the main source of his illumination.¹ His spiritual pilgrimage was often difficult: "I wished thousands of times that I had been a bird, or beast, or anything but a man."² Looking back he declared: "Like Bunyan's pilgrim I had to make my way alone."

Now a man of twenty-seven, he had purchased timber near to Harsehead, a village on the Cheshire side of Mow Cop, and whilst labouring there was deeply impressed by the profligacy of the inhabitants and the scantiness of provision for their need. Personal conversation on spiritual things³ brought the conversion of a handful of colliers, the outcome of which was the revival of a society, and the eventual building of a chapel in the village, largely at Bourne's expense and by his own hands. He was reluctantly persuaded to preach at the house of Joseph Pointon, on the slope of Mow Cop; the congregation proved too large to be accommodated, and so the meeting was held on the hillside—on 12th July 1801—"a camp-meeting . . . without a name". Open-

¹ In particular, the literature of the Quakers, Wesley's sermon "On the Trinity", and John Fletcher's "Letters on the Spiritual Manifestation of the Son of God".

² Cf. William Clowes (*Journals*, 1844, p. 7): "Sometimes I used to walk in solitary and unfrequented places, wishing that I was a bird or beast or anything that was not accountable to the tribunal of heaven."

³ At first, being too shy to speak of spiritual things, Bourne wrote an account of his spiritual pilgrimage for one Thomas Maxfield, the local blacksmith. This document, which we may call his "Self-review", is preserved in the Library of Hartley Victoria College, Manchester.

air worship had begun, and the new impulse was stimulated partly by the accounts of American camp-meetings published in the *Methodist Magazine* between 1802 and 1807, and partly by the visit to the neighbourhood of an American enthusiast, Lorenzo Dow.⁴ Eventually, on 31st May 1807, the first camp-meeting was held on Mow Cop, "a meeting such as our eyes had never beheld". The numbers attending were estimated at between two and four thousand. The Liverpool Conference of 1807, however, declared against such meetings,⁵ and consequently the official attitude in the Burslem circuit became strongly averse; many stood aloof, at one point leaving Bourne almost alone in his enterprise, so that momentarily he hesitated, not least because he found himself unwittingly "a man of strife". Yet, in prayer, it was impressed upon his soul that "the camp-meetings should not die but live", and so he determined to stand by the new venture. The enterprise grew: new converts to the faith were passed over to the Methodist societies, but there was tension. Bourne believed the work was of God, and that it must go on despite criticism, yet he was apprehensive: "I dreaded a secession. . . ." His own Methodist loyalty stands unquestioned, but in 1808 he found himself excluded.⁶

Now these "Camp-Meeting Fathers" stood alone. Bourne went on with his pastoral work, having now largely set aside his normal occupation for this spiritual enterprise. In June 1810 William Clowes suffered similar exclusion,⁷ and the unexpected emergence of a separate evangelistic impulse took place at Tunstall, this company being known as the "Clowesites".⁸ Gradually the two groups coalesced, and the following significant record occurs in Bourne's MS. Journal:

THURSDAY. FEB. 13. 1812 We called a meeting and made plans for the next quarter, and made some other regulations. In particular we took the name of the Society of Primitive Methodists.

A new denomination had been born, though without intention.⁹ Bourne wrote: "The new movement . . . brought me into great exercise of soul, and what would follow I could not tell."

For the next forty years the main weight of its expansion and of

⁴ The development of the impulse was delayed through a revival in the Burslem circuit, during the ministry of the Rev. Edward Jackson in 1804-5.

⁵ *Minutes of Conference, 1807*: "Even supposing such meetings to be allowable in America, they are highly improper in England . . . and we disclaim all connexion with them."

⁶ "On Monday, June 27, 1808, the circuit quarterly meeting held at Burslem put me out of the old Methodist Society, without my being summoned to a hearing, or being officially informed of the charges alleged against me." (Bourne's MS. Autobiography.)

⁷ See J. T. Wilkinson, *William Clowes, 1780-1851*, pp. 27-30.

⁸ The first recorded mention of this name is by Clowes himself (Clowes MSS. A. fol. 10).

⁹ "It was not my intention to have anything to do with raising separate societies, but to have raised up as many people into the service of the Lord as I was able to do, and then to have encouraged them to join other societies. . . . I had a peculiar aversion to have any ruling part." (Bourne MSS. Journal, 23rd May 1810.)

its ecclesiastical structure and discipline fell upon Bourne. He became the architect of a denomination. The enterprise spread throughout the land and across the seas.

So the years passed until Bourne's superannuation in 1842. Even then his work was not finished: he continued going forth, confirming the churches, and, when seventy-two years of age, crossed the Atlantic in order to superintend the missions in Canada and the United States: he returned in 1846. At home again, he renewed his visitation of the societies throughout the land until strength failed and he could do no more. Worn out by his labours, he died at Bemersley, in his eighty-first year, on 11th October 1852; six days later he was laid to rest in the quiet Cheshire hamlet of Englesea Brook.

II

Bourne was outwardly a quaint figure. Rugged in features, and with close-cut reddish hair, he wore a blue coat of woollen cord, a coloured neckerchief,¹⁰ blue stockings and strong, nailed shoes—everything bearing the mark of severity. His physical labours were amazing. In preaching and pastoral work no man has ever travelled so many miles on foot; not seldom he reached the point of sheer exhaustion. Thirty miles a day, often on frugal fare,¹¹ was a common achievement, and as he travelled, by conversation and call the seeds of the gospel were sown. From Bemersley his journeyings took him as far south as the Isle of Wight, as far north as Edinburgh; to East Anglia and westwards across the Welsh Border and to Cornwall; to the Isle of Man and to Ireland. In his sixty-fifth year he writes:

Being sensible of much bodily fatigue through the decay of age, and in particular in regard of walking, I never expected to be again able to walk twenty-seven miles a day. But the Lord has been gracious to me.¹²

Three days later on his return journey he covered twenty-eight miles.

Though I was very footsore, I suffered no material inconvenience. . . . I now see that a person cannot tell what he may be enabled to do, if he trusts in the Lord, and applies himself wholly to the work.

Bourne's rustic appearance led many to underestimate his intellectual capacities. Early and late, at home or on travel, he was accustomed to seize every opportunity for the culture of his mind. As early as 1802 he began his study of Greek and Hebrew¹³ in

¹⁰ In later years his dress grew rather more ministerial, though even in his earlier days he was accustomed to change his coloured neckerchief for a white one for preaching.

¹¹ "He used to put into his pocket two or three hard-boiled eggs and a little dry bread in the morning, and during his journey he would sit down by a well of water and take his humble fare, and then travel on in pursuit of the great object of saving souls." (Letter of T. Steele to J. Walford, 22nd December 1853.)

¹² Bourne MSS. (Journal), 1837.

¹³ It is interesting to note the written Greek and Hebrew vocabularies for specified Scripture chapters written upon the fly-leaves and elsewhere in his Journals.



HUGH BOURNE
Plaster Cast (1839) by William Andrews
(From the original in Hartley Victoria College, Manchester)

order to a better understanding of the Scriptures; he gained also some knowledge of French and Latin.¹⁴ Many religious tracts and sermons came from his pen, and he wrote a small commentary on St. John's Gospel. He published a *History of the Primitive Methodists* in 1823, and an important piece of historical writing is his *Ecclesiastical History*, which was printed in the *Primitive Methodist Magazine* from 1825 to 1842, and published separately after his death in a volume of nearly eight hundred pages.

Bourne was also responsible for the beginning of the Connexional literature, at first entirely as a private venture but from 1820 connexionally as editor: he continued this work for nearly twenty-two years. Each volume of the *Magazine*¹⁵ bears the mark of his ability, and contains a vast amount of material from his own pen.

Of great importance in the development of the Connexion were Bourne's literary labours upon its succession of hymn-books.¹⁶ It should also be remembered that he kept a daily MS. Journal for more than fifty years. Thus throughout his life Bourne had a strong literary interest. His reading was varied and extensive; he possessed a considerable library in his home at Bemersley, and it was his custom to take books with him on his travels; much of his literary work was done away from home, and when we remember his constant journeyings and his daily care of the churches it is amazing that he achieved so much.

Bourne's tremendous administrative ability must not be forgotten. In the early years chapels were planned and built by his own hands: he undertook legal responsibility for them. The structure of the Connexion was the fruit of his thought and labours, as its first legislator, and the Deed Poll (1830) stands as a testimony to his skill, patience and insight. Not seldom, in matters of policy and discipline, it was his vigour of mind and clear understanding that overcame periods of crisis.

Such were Bourne's labours for over fifty years; the reading of his Journal suggests that there was no respite even for a single day. He fulfilled his own vow, declared in 1808: ". . . I made no promise but simply gave myself into the hands of God to be moulded into His will."

III

In personal character Bourne was a man of deep moral con-

¹⁴ In 1832 Bourne wrote *Studies in Language*, a volume of some two hundred pages, in which he makes linguistic comparisons in these four languages. We may note also that Bourne's linguistic studies prompted incursion into biblical textual criticism and exegesis.

¹⁵ Bourne also edited the *Preachers' Magazine* and the *Children's Magazine*.

¹⁶ As early as 1809 Bourne produced a hymn-book under the title *General Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs for Camp Meetings*; in the enlarged edition of 1819 it contained 63 hymns. In 1821 this was followed by another collection of 154 hymns, afterwards to be known as *The Small Hymn-Book*. In 1824 another appeared, bearing the title *Large Hymn Book for the use of the Primitive Methodists* and containing 536 hymns, to which Bourne contributed twenty of his own composing. For the editing of all these collections Bourne was entirely responsible.

viction, which, being associated with an unbending, resolute mind, sometimes created misunderstanding even amongst his friends.¹⁷ He could brook no compromise—whatever he believed to be the will of God he pursued relentlessly, no matter how intense the opposing forces. That sometimes he spoke hard words, and that sometimes he was mistaken in judgement need not surprise us; his moral integrity is beyond question.

The background of Bourne's sense of moral conviction was a deep and pervading spirituality. His Journal bears witness to this: his soul was rooted in prayer and his experience bore the marks of the true mystic. "I felt extraordinary things at the thought of being a friend of Christ. . . . I felt unutterable things." At times he felt "a great glow of light and love"; he could write: "Another fold of power spread over my soul."

His profound love of children reveals his humbleness of mind; often on his travels he gathered companies of them to speak to them of the love of Jesus, and he was frequently found teaching little children in the alphabet classes of the Sunday-schools he had founded. Never did he preach but first the children claimed his word and prayer.

This quality of saintliness lay beneath Bourne's rugged exterior; in the interior life he lived near to God. He was indeed "the man of the golden heart".

JOHN T. WILKINSON.

¹⁷ The most serious example of this was in his relations with William Clowes. This question is fully discussed in *William Clowes, 1780 - 1851*, Appendix B.

The Epworth Press is rendering good service by its reprints of some of Methodism's classic documents. Wesley's *A Plain Account of the People called Methodists* (pp. 30, 9d.) originally formed the substance of a letter to Vincent Perronet in 1748, and the passing of two centuries has not diminished its value as an authoritative record. . . . *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection* (pp. 116, 7s. 6d.) first appeared in 1766 and passed through several revisions until it reached its present form in 1777. Wesley traces the steps by which he was led "during a course of many years, to embrace the doctrine of Christian Perfection", and gives a list of the several works which he and his brother Charles had written on the subject. . . . This book is strong meat, as also is the reprint of Harald Lindström's *Wesley and Sanctification* (Epworth Press, pp. xvi. 228, 12s. 6d.), in which a distinguished Swedish theologian gives a lucid and thorough exposition of Christian Perfection; but the non-specialist would be well advised to stick to the *Plain Account*!

Methodism in the Channel Islands, by R. Douglas Moore (Epworth Press, pp. viii. 175, paper covers, 5s.; cloth, 6s. 6d.), is a very different kind of book. The author's intense interest in the Channel Islands and their welfare has been well known, and this full-length historical record has been a labour of love. The story it tells is indeed an "almost unknown romance", and we heartily commend this fascinating and heroic narrative not only to those who know and love the Channel Islands but also to those who love Methodist history for its own sake. There are references in our earlier *Proceedings* which the author seems to have missed, and an Index would have been helpful.

HUGH BOURNE AND THE "SPIRITUAL MANIFESTATION"

AS John Wesley's biographers turn to a house in Aldersgate Street, London, and relate his hearing there the reading of Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans, so those who would account for Hugh Bourne, the founder of Primitive Methodism, must direct their attention to a farm in Bemersley, Staffordshire, and the reading by Bourne himself, all alone, of "Six Letters on the Spiritual Manifestation of the Son of God".

These seem to have been strangely neglected. Many pens have narrated the story of the conversion of Bourne, but none appear to have passed on the evangelical exposition and argument that proved so epoch-making that Sunday morning in 1799. The spring sunshine pouring in through the farmhouse windows was emblematic of the light of the glory of God that came by the medium of the Rev. John Fletcher, vicar of Madeley. He it was who had written the letters to a correspondent whose name is not preserved. Copies were found in the vicarage after Mr. Fletcher's death and then printed for the general public.¹ As they can be today perused in the light of Bourne's Journal, we can detect the seed truths which developed in his later thought-life and which stirred him to his Providential career.

The fifty-three pages taken up by the reprint of the Letters can for our purpose be summarized fairly briefly, but the whole would well repay any who would seek an opportunity of becoming familiarized with them. Methodist research must concern itself with the ideas as well as the activities of the past.

I

Fletcher urges that there are spiritual senses given to man by God to receive spiritual manifestations—just as there are physical senses through which we derive our knowledge of the material universe. This capacity, however, he regards as discovered only (or at any rate only found in exercise) in the regenerate. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; and he cannot know them, because they are spiritually judged." Hence a man who would enjoy these spiritual manifestations must pray to God to grant him the gift of rebirth.

Dealing next with the nature of these spiritual manifestations, Fletcher utters warning against supposing them to consist in bare, unvitalized knowledge of religious truth. They are also not to be identified with the rousing of emotions as when a vivid imagination, picturing the cruel sufferings of the Crucified, feels the heart stirred with painful sensibility. Spiritual manifestations in Fletcher's use of the phrase are not merely desires after goodness, however earnest

¹ *The Works of the Rev. John Fletcher* (1860), ix, pp. 4-57.

may be those yearnings. Such longings he describes as drawings of the Father. But it is only when the soul yields to these "drawings" in penitence, faith and petition, and finds thus and then these desires satisfied that one can rightfully speak of the manifestation of the Spirit.

Spiritual manifestations are due to a supernatural removal of blindness from the hitherto unregenerate and to a divine self-disclosure of God in His Son, bringing inward peace and joy, with release and energy of obedience—all in a manner utterly new and revolutionary to the recipient.

Pursuing his description, Fletcher classifies the varied forms of the Spirit's manifestation to the soul. He names three categories: extraordinary, ordinary, and mixed. The extraordinary manifestations are those which are not necessary to salvation; they may however be conferred for inspiration and encouragement in service. Thus Paul could say of his conversion: "It was the good pleasure of God . . . to reveal His Son in me." (Gal. i. 15f.) But concerning Paul's commission for service in Rome, Luke could say that after the apostle's arrest in Jerusalem: "The night following the Lord stood by him and said, Be of good cheer, for as thou hast testified concerning me at Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome." (Acts xxiii. 11.)

The ordinary manifestations are those common to all the new-born souls, as when the Spirit sharpens the word of God or eases the wounded conscience, silences self, and opens up intercourse with Christ.

Those manifestations termed by Fletcher "mixed" are a combination of the ordinary with the extraordinary. Thus Peter and John after their imprisonment and admonition by the magistrates never again to speak or teach in the name of Jesus gathered the members of the church together in joint supplication for heaven-sent courage. Thereupon two things happened. One was an extraordinary manifestation: "the place was shaken wherein they were gathered together"; i.e. there was vouchsafed an outward sign. The other event was the repetition of an inward blessing freshly needed for a new contingency: "they were all filled with the Holy Ghost and they spake the word of God with boldness."

II

In his *History of the Primitive Methodists*,² Bourne states that while reading Mr. Fletcher's Letters on the "Spiritual Manifestation of the Son of God" he realized the blessing therein set forth, and the fruits abiding confirmed it to him that the work was of the Lord.

Bourne's earliest efforts in soul-winning were based on what he had thus learned from Fletcher. When on Christmas Day, 1800 he had a talk with his cousin, Daniel Shubotham, moved by deep concern for his spiritual welfare, Bourne relates: "I set to preaching the gospel to him with all my might and taking up John xiv. 21—'I will love him, and manifest myself to him', I told him that Jesus

² Published at Bemersley in 1824.

Christ must be manifested to him or else he could never be born again."

His further reading in theology included the study of works of the early Quakers. Indeed in preparation for his conversation with Shubotham he had taken with him a volume by Barclay. The doctrine of the Inner Light taught by the Society of Friends had evidently an attraction for him. For a time he considered joining the Friends, but it would appear that the Methodist type of fellowship in audible prayer and hearty song tipped the scales the other way. Yet a mystic he remained. James Crawfoot of Delamere Forest, an old preacher and well versed in the art of intimate spiritual communion, was a kindred soul. From him he learned much that tended to strengthen his own tendencies and to elicit remarkable intuitions.

III

But if Bourne was a mystic he was a practical mystic. To communicate to others the revelations that had come to him meant eschewing the methods that had failed to touch him when he had been a seeker. He became acutely conscious that new wine demanded new wineskins. A household may fittingly have old wineskins for old wine, but to attempt to put new wine in old skins was to court disaster. As Dr. Vincent Taylor has recently commented on the sayings of Christ in Mark ii. 21f: "The sentiments they express are revolutionary since they affirm that a new message must find a fresh vehicle if it is not to perish and destroy existing institutions." Thus Bourne finding no provision, or utterly inadequate provision, for group prayer in the Methodist chapels accessible, started regular prayer circles in a borrowed room.

He and his brother James at their own cost built a chapel at Harseahead to seat two hundred, and gave it to the Burslem circuit, but Bourne was distressed when the Plan came out to notice that both the afternoon and evening services were entirely devoted to preaching. The Rev. John Petty³ states: "Mr. Bourne was of opinion that too much preaching was appointed, which he believed operated injuriously, preventing the people's gifts from being sufficiently exercised in prayer meetings." He was the more confirmed in this conviction in that whilst those who had been brought to the Lord in the house prayer meetings remained steadfast, "for a long time no new converts were added to their number, which was a cause of great grief to his mind". Bourne was sure that if public prayer is only expressed from the pulpit, there is a serious lack in the means of grace.

Respecting the camp meetings originated in England by Hugh Bourne in 1807, the present writer would refer the reader to his full account in *The Secret of Mow Cop*.⁴ There may however be added here a remark of Hugh Bourne in 1824:

³ *History of the Primitive Methodist Connexion*: New Edition revised and enlarged. (London: 1880.)

⁴ The Wesley Historical Society Lectures, No. 16 (1950).

Sometime about the year 1801 or 1802 camp meetings were begun in the United States . . . A day's praying upon Mow was first proposed in 1801. The thought simply arose from a zeal for praying which had recently sprung up in that neighbourhood. It is a striking circumstance that the thought which led to these meetings should, without any communication, arise in two nations nearly at the same time.⁵

It must also be distinctly affirmed that all through his life Bourne meant by camp meeting an open-air gathering in which praying was predominant. In his Journal dated Saturday, 31 July 1847, the day before a camp meeting on the cricket ground in Sheffield, he noted: I did a great deal of . . . writing out the system for the permanent praying company. Certain classes were appointed to labour half an hour and then another company to come in, and the first to be at liberty. There were four or five companies for the forenoon and as many for the afternoon.

IV

The readiness of Bourne to invent means to an evangelistic end is seen in his use of singing and the provision of revival hymns. In nothing perhaps is the church so conservative as in this very matter. The history of hymnology shows the resistance to change in modes of worship which every pioneer has to face. Thus at one time the use of psalms might be allowed, for their words were taken from Holy Writ, but the introduction of hymns met with stiff opposition. So too the fitting of secular tunes to sacred themes raised the ire of many. But Hugh Bourne claimed for himself and the cause to which he was committed the liberty which the Wesleys had used in their generation. Bourne felt that he knew the type of hymn which would convey the gospel appeal to the people among whom he was labouring. In 1807, the year of the first Mow Cop camp meeting, he published a collection of hymns. For that early venture he relied largely on American hymns. But soon he blazed his own trail. In 1821 he published *The Small Hymn Book* and in 1824 *The Large Hymn Book*. To the latter book he contributed a noteworthy preface of some twelve pages. One section is devoted to a description of "The Service of Song in the Old Testament" and another to "The Service of Song in the New Testament". In a paragraph headed "General Observations" he refers to leaders of sacred song, or as perhaps we should say, the choir:

These are appointed of the Lord. All others would bring a vain oblation and would injure both themselves and the congregation. None should be permitted to take any part in leading the singing service but such as can "sing with grace in their hearts unto the Lord".

The hymns are classified, beginning with those under the title "The majesty and goodness of God", but it is significant that out of 536 hymns no less than 133 fall under the superscription "Prayer and the Fight of Faith". From John and Charles Wesley, Samuel Wesley, Isaac Watts, Doddridge and Cowper are borrowed a fair proportion, but others are by Bourne himself, some by William

⁵ *A Collection of Hymns for Camp Meetings, Revivals, etc., for the use of Primitive Methodists*, by Hugh Bourne. (Bemersley: 1832.)

Sanders whom he commissioned and paid to compose hymns, some by Bourne and Sanders jointly. Attention may be called to the fact that six hymns are on Baptism, four being composed by Bourne.

Two hymns on the Lord's Supper bear the initials H.B. We quote the last verse of one:

Thy meek example may we learn,
And feast on heavenly food;
And may we now by faith discern
Thy body and Thy blood.

Here is evidence that Bourne the evangelist had a sacramental theology which he put into the lips of his converts.

The *Small Hymn Book* is almost entirely of a mission character, vivid and direct. Hymn 130 is particularly graphic: "In evil long I took delight". Here is testimony cast in the form of poetic drama.

Methought I saw One on the tree
In agony and blood,
Who fixed His languid eyes on me,
As near the cross I stood.
Sure never till my latest breath
Can I forget that look;
It seemed to charge me with His death,
Though not a word He spoke.

And then in the next verse we have a picture of the sinner confessing, and a final verse portraying the redeeming look of the Crucified. This was not Bourne's composition: his gift did not lie in the direction of poetic imagination; but it was his choice, and there is token that it was widely used.

V

As the leader of a new religious movement, Bourne had grim trials to face. In a couple of decades he had seen an accession of some 30,000 new members. Then came a quadrennium of crisis. Trouble was made by false brethren, hirelings, caring not for the sheep, those who made separations, having not the Spirit, men who like Diotrophes of old loved to have pre-eminence, unruly men, vain talkers and deceivers. This experience nearly broke his heart. His own consecration was so utter that it was hard for him to conceive of hard-heartedness and defection among those who professed attachment. John Petty reports that unsuitable persons had become travelling preachers "who proved to be a burden, and in some instances, a curse rather than a blessing. The societies languished under their inefficient labours, and even once-flourishing circuits became feeble". Besides this, leadership in the societies had fallen into wrong hands. Ambitious turbulent folk from other denominations crept in and

readily acquired influence and authority which they exercised to the great detriment of the infant churches. Dissensions and disruptions were the fearful results and many prosperous churches were nearly ruined by the despotism of a few ambitious men.

Hugh Bourne was almost overcome by a flood of sorrow, and was tempted for a while to wonder if all his work was for naught. But soon he rallied. He quickly perceived that only a drastic purge in both ministry and membership would suffice. Once he had made up his mind on the necessity for stern discipline, he committed Conference to action, despite a struggle from the disaffected. Many officials were dismembered, the church roll in the societies was severely pruned, and the Connexion parted with no less than thirty travelling preachers. Within four years the crisis was past and a new era of progress set in.

VI

As a Temperance reformer Bourne was far ahead of his times. He had been confronted with the consequences of addiction to alcohol in his own domestic circle, his father being a heavy drinker. In his evangelistic work and journeyings to and fro he had witnessed spirituous liquors creating an insatiable craving that made men besotted. Here was an enemy to the cause of Christ with which there could be no parley, no compromise. To him any talk of moderate drinking was a sign of delusion and a refusal to face sinister facts. Did not the word stand: "No drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of God"? That was surely clear and plain. Then the drunkard must abjure the drink that shut him out from the kingdom. And the Christian worker must at all costs stand by him not only in exhortation but by example of total abstinence. "To drink wine . . . whereby thy brother stumbleth"—"that is not good." Not good? No! a thousand times, no!

In taking up this attitude Bourne was setting himself in opposition to the prevailing sentiment and practice of his age. Society, the medical profession, and the churches were all against him. Even in his own religious community he had a stiff fight to wage for his temperance principles. In 1827 at the Primitive Methodist Conference held at Manchester a resolution was brought from one District proposing a new standing order whereby it should be the duty of trustees of chapels to provide wine for the use of preachers. Delegates argued strongly in favour of this suggested legislation. During the evening session Bourne made a long and powerful speech against what he regarded as an outrageous idea. The debate was adjourned. At six o'clock the next morning Conference resumed the discussion. Bourne sprang to his feet. He reasoned the matter out in all its phases, and then in an impassioned utterance rose to heights of eloquence. The delegates sat in breathless silence, as Bourne poured out his very soul. In a final outburst he brought down his clenched fist upon the table with such vehemence that pens, ink and papers were sent flying into the air. He sat down overwhelmed by emotion.⁶ But he had won his case, and not for that day only. Primitive Methodism then received an impetus which was to place it in the vanguard of Temperance reform.

⁶ *The Life of Hugh Bourne*, by William Antliff and Colin C. McKechnie. (London: 1892.)

VII

I have not come across any record of the word "sacrifice" falling from the lips or pen of Bourne, yet sacrifices he did make. At first we see him as a successful business man giving more and more of his leisure to evangelism. We note how from his business profits he paid for the setting apart of Crawfoot as a missionary. Out of his savings he built one chapel and later supported one after another elsewhere. When by the call of God he left his business he was content to live on a bare pittance. Whatever was derived from the sale of his writings he devoted to the Connexion. When he retired from denominational full-time responsibilities he received a yearly allowance of £25, but out of this he continued to contribute to the liquidation of heavy liabilities of a chapel at Burslem of which he was a trustee. Time he gave in unstinted measure, his day frequently beginning at five in the morning. Strength he poured out lavishly, until towards the end we find in his Journal the tell-tale word "exhausted" recurring. But even so he toiled on until he was in his eightieth year. From his twenty-seventh year until his eightieth the impetus of the "Spiritual Manifestations" had endured.

VIII

It is not granted to every man to see the vindication of his vision, the reward on earth of his struggle. But in the summer of the year that Bourne died there were reported to Conference 560 travelling preachers, 1,723 chapels, 118,508 Sunday-school scholars, 22,393 teachers and a membership of 109,984.

The fitting climax of his working life, however, was Sunday, 22nd January 1852. Then he preached his last sermon. His text was John xiv. 21: "I will love him, and will manifest myself to him." His theme was thus "Spiritual Manifestations of the Son of God". The wheel of life had come full circle. The gospel as given to him by Fletcher was still potent and uppermost in his mind: it had stood the test of over fifty years, and was as fresh and dear to him as ever. The text which he had quoted as a young man with such efficacy in his "conversation sermon" with his cousin Daniel Shubotham was the word through which blessing came to his last congregation. And the place where he proclaimed the alpha and omega of his faith that day was Norton, the scene of his first camp meeting immediately after the Liverpool Conference of 1807 had forbidden any repetition of Mow Cop. Despite the interdict, he had held on, though it had cost him much. But on the scene of his first battleground there were those peaceful sabbath songs of joyous victory in that warrior's heart. Complete was the "Spiritual Manifestation".⁷

W. E. FARNDALÉ.

⁷ Actually Bourne passed away on Monday evening, 11th October 1852. His hand was raised and pointing, as if the veil of the unseen was uplifted. Gladly he exclaimed: "Old companions . . . My mother." And so to him at the end the Manifestation of Glory crowned the lifelong Manifestation of Grace.

THE BOURNES AND THE PRIMITIVE METHODIST DEED POLL

Some Unpublished Documents

IN his recent Wesley Historical Society Lecture, *Methodist Preaching Houses and the Law*, the Rev. E. Benson Perkins has described the gradual realization of the need for the careful legal settlement of Methodist places of worship, and in a comparative table of Methodist Model Deeds has underlined the essential similarity of the legal structure of all branches of British Methodism. Primitive Methodism is no exception.

Hugh Bourne was the chief architect of Primitive Methodist polity, and some letters in the W. L. Watkinson Collection bequeathed to the New Room, Bristol, enable us to throw new light on the early history of the Primitive Methodist Deed Poll. As Mr. Perkins points out, the Primitive Methodist Deed Poll was executed in 1830. Hugh Bourne had instigated preliminary negotiations some years earlier, however, though very little is known of their history. At the third Conference, that held at Loughborough in 1822, it was agreed:

That a general committee be chosen, and a deed poll be made in order to legalize the connexion, and secure its chapels. . . . That W. Bond, E. Taylor, R. Jackson, M. Scafe, and J. Thomson be appointed to see after the execution of the deed poll.¹

These resolutions proved abortive, however, apparently owing in part to the unsettled state of the Connexion, and in part to the unsuitability of the committee. The project seems to have been taken over by the "General Committees", of which two were appointed in 1823, with their headquarters at Tunstall and Hull, the "corresponding members" being Richard Jackson at Hull and James Bourne at Tunstall. In 1824 the Tunstall General Committee took precedence, and the functions of the General Committees were more clearly outlined. In effect they were to "attend to the management of general concerns, between the annual meetings". Their work resulted in clear proposals brought to the 1825 Conference, whose *Minutes* record:

DEED OF SETTLEMENT.

Q.24. What are the resolutions of the Annual Meeting or Conference respecting a Deed of Settlement?

A. 1. That it is necessary and proper for the Primitive Methodist Connexion to be legalized or settled by a Deed of Declaration or Settlement, to be enrolled in his Majesty's high court of chancery; and that such Deed be executed and enrolled as soon as possible.

2. Resolved that Hugh Bourne, James Bourne, William Clowes, and

¹ *Minutes of the Annual Meeting, held at Loughborough . . . 1822*, p. 2. H. B. Kendall, *The Origin and History of the Primitive Methodist Church*, i, p. 438f, wrongly dates the Conference as 1823.

James Steele, be hereby appointed to be the Committee to make, sign, and execute, such Deed of Declaration or Settlement.

3. Resolved that twelve persons be appointed in and by the Deed of Declaration to be and continue to be permanent members of the Annual Meeting or Conference of the Primitive Methodist Connexion. Four of these to be of such ministers of the gospel, in and of the said connexion, and [as?] are employed as itinerant or travelling preachers. The other eight to be chosen out of three distinct offices in and of the said connexion, namely that they be of such as sustain the office of class leaders, or the office of circuit stewards, or that they be such ministers of the gospel as sustain the office of local preachers, or preachers sustaining a local ministry in the said connexion. And that provision be made for perpetuating the number of twelve permanent members in the Conference of the said Primitive Methodist Connexion.²

The committee did its work, and presented a deed to the 1826 Conference, where various modifications were suggested. The matter was then left in abeyance owing to connexional disturbances, for it seemed quite possible that Primitive Methodism might cease to exist. Eventually, these troubles over, the Deed Poll, still further modified, was accepted by the Scotter Conference of 1829, signed on 5th February 1830, enrolled in Chancery five days later, approved by the Leicester Conference in 1831, and finally printed in 1837. It had been a long and arduous passage for the document establishing the legal identity of Primitive Methodism. Hugh Bourne was mainly responsible both for the origination, planning, and even format of the Deed Poll, but it was not his fault that innumerable delays attended its progress. Legal advice was given by "several eminent lawyers", including apparently Mr. John Wilks of London (1765?-1854), son of the Rev. Matthew Wilks, minister of Whitefield's Tabernacle. Wilks told William Clowes that Hugh Bourne reminded him of George Fox, and after examining Bourne's draft of the document paid testimony to his "strong mind and great legislative talents".³

In effect the issue was decided by the negotiations of the committee acting between the Conferences of 1824 and 1825. It is upon these negotiations that the documents in the Watkinson Collection throw new light. Two are brief letters from James Bourne, the Tunstall correspondent, to members of a sub-committee at Hull, communicated through the Hull correspondent, Richard Jackson. The third is by Hugh Bourne himself, being a rough draft of the most interesting part of the Deed Poll. We reproduce them in full.⁴ In the first letter we notice not only Bourne's conference with Wilks, but their consideration of the idea of having a "Legal Hundred" on the Wesleyan pattern—though not without first glancing at Methodist New Connexion practice—though as yet that body had no Deed Poll:

² *Large Minutes of the Sunderland Conference, 1825*, p. 9.

³ H. B. Kendall, *op. cit.*, i, p. 438-9; *Dictionary of National Biography*, article "John Wilks"; W. Antliff, *Life of the Venerable Hugh Bourne* (1872), p. 317.

⁴ Watkinson Collection, vol. iv, folios 678, 679.

Bemersley Novr. 26 1824.

To Brs. Taylor & Rodgers.

Dr. Bn.

From Novr. 15 to 20 H. Bourne and Wm. Clowes waited on Mr. Wilks at London, perhaps the greatest religious Lawyer in England. He has just executed a Deed poll for the Welch Methodists.

He says our Deed poll may be done like the old Methodists—or to have a fluctuating Annual Meeting or else to have a few named permanently say 3, 6, 9, 12, 15, or 18, as members of the Annual Meeting, the rest to be elected in the usual way. This method he thinks the best as it will secure the advantages of the other 2 ways without their difficulties.

The permanent members to be removed if they act unworthily, and their places to be filled up with others.

Yours in the Lord,

JAMES BOURNE.

P.S. Write your opinion on the above and send it as speedily as possible.

P.S. W. Clowes thinks the last mentioned way the best.

On this Committee at Hull are E. Taylor—W. Rodgers and W. Clowes.

Send the Deed of the New Connexion by Wm. Clowes and send Magazine matter by him.

The letter was addressed:

Mr. Wm. Rodgers
to be left with
Mr. Richd Jackson
Union Street
Waterhouse lane
Hull
Yorkshire.

Post)
Paid)

The second letter bore the same superscription and address. Previous correspondence had settled the general principle that there was to be neither a "legal hundred" nor a Conference whose members might fluctuate unduly; continuity was to be secured by appointing permanent members. The next questions to decide were, "How many?" and "How chosen?"

Dr. Brethren,

The first Question being unanimously Decided, for a number of permanent members, the next Questions are

1. What shall be the number?
2. How shall they be elected?

The number you know, must be by threes as 3 or 6 or 9 or 12 or 15 &c.

Some have proposed to elect them by Seniority of membership in the Connexion, electing those who have borne the office of delegates, and against whose Conduct in the Connexion no reasonable objection can be taken. But you must entirely make up your opinion from your own Judgment.

Some have thought that 3 or 6 would be too few, but in this you must judge for yourselves.

THE BOURNES AND THE PRIMITIVE METHODIST DEED POLL 141

Write your opinions as soon as you conveniently can.

Yours in the Lord

Bemersley

Decr. 30, 1824.

JAMES BOURNE.

We directed this to Br. Rodgers lest Br. Taylor should be out.

Overleaf is the note :

To Mr. Richd. Jackson.

Dr. Brother,

I recd your Draft £68 19 2 and shall send the goods immediately.

J. BOURNE.

Dec. 30, 1824.

Endorsed on the cover is:

28 members

12 go every year

200 Children's Magazines to be sent for to Book Room for this year 1825.

The number which first commended itself was forty-eight, of whom a select group of twelve were to attend every Conference and also act as a kind of General Purposes Committee, thus taking over the functions of the Tunstall General Committee. The letter by Hugh Bourne now to be presented shows him grappling with the various difficulties involved. It seems to have been the draft of a letter for William Clowes or William Rodgers, and we reproduce it complete with erasures:

Hull. 17th Jany. 1825.

Dear Brother,

In answer to your letter on the subject of the Deed Poll I have to inform you that Brother Taylor & myself think 48 would be the best Number, 12 of those to be chose at each District Meeting out of the most eligible men to be found in the district. We also think that 12 of those (viz of the 48) should attend every Annual Meeting, that is 3 from each district to be chosen in like Manner at every the several district Meetings annually. And should it be likely to be satisfactory to the connexion we think that the 12 to be chosen Annually out of the 48, with 36 others (chosen in like Manner without respect to their being of the 48 or not) should compose the Annual Meeting & that they should have no power to make laws to affect the connexion unless they had first passed the district meetings, or probably that they should not make laws to affect any part of the connexion but the District or Districts that they had passed, until the ensuing District & Annual Meetings, when they should be made binding on the connexion or be done away with.

+ (But it may be doubtful whether the different Circuits will be satisfied without having the privilege of sending a Delegate to the Annual Meeting) but if so, then it will make no difference respecting the 12 attending the Annual Meeting. We also think that the number 36 might be increased to any other stated No. if it shall be tho't necessary—Also that the 12 who shall attend the Annual Meeting as part of the 48 should be considered as the Committee for guarding the privileges of the Connexion untill the Annual Meeting following+ And whether the Connexion will be divided into 4 Districts only, & if not whether the new districts will be satisfied if they have not a

power of choosing some part of the 48 to attend the Annual Meeting, & if they should have that power whether it would not be binding the Connexion too much to the 48, as there No. Perhaps could not be increased conveniently— With respect to the 1st Ment[ion]ed doubt it is perhaps impossible to be removed at present—& respecting the No. of Districts, should they be increased I see no particular disadvantage under which they could labour by not being able to chose any of the 48 to attend the Annual Meeting, as the 12 of them who did attend would have no superior power to the other Members & of course the No. 36 would be increased, to that they would have unrepresentation in the District Meeting with the senior districts— And the No. 12 would still perhaps be the best, & the way Men[tion]ed for choosing them the best that can at present be adopted.

Would it not be better when you write on those subjects to let us know your opinion & your reasons as we might perhaps be assisted in forming ours, & point out what we think objectionable in yours if we should happen not to agree with you.

I remain &c.

This letter is endorsed "Hugh Bourne/17 Janyr 1825/Deed poll."

Thus there was envisaged a nucleus of forty-eight Deed Poll members of Conference, of whom twelve should attend each year. Eventually, as we have seen from the 1825 *Minutes*, the idea of forty-eight was dropped, but the twelve remained, to constitute the heart of successive Conferences. The 1826 Conference directed that "the Deed of Settlement read in the Conference be accepted; and that the committee formed last year do carry it into effect as speedily as possible". When the matter was eventually completed there were only twelve permanent members of the Conference, four "ministers of the gospel" and eight laymen. All were appointed for life, though they might be displaced for various reasons. Two of the ministers, however, and one layman, were in the unique position of being undisplaceable. These were Hugh Bourne, William Clowes, and "James Bourne of Bemersley aforesaid, Printer". The other two ministers were Samson Turner and John Garner. The laymen represented both different areas and different occupations:

John Hancock,	Tunstall, engraver
Richard Odlin,	Blyton, Lincoln, farmer
George Taylor,	Brindley, Chester, farmer
David Bowen,	Darlaston, Stafford, bridle-bit-maker
Thomas Sugden,	Manchester, confectioner
Ralph Waller,	Mellor, Derby, cotton spinner
John Gordon Black,	Sunderland, linen manufacturer.

These "Deed Poll members" first took their seats as such in the Bradford Conference of 1832. For a hundred years, until Methodist Union in 1932, the Deed Poll preserved both a legal constitution and continuity of policy for Primitive Methodism. We salute its architect-in-chief, Hugh Bourne.

FRANK BAKER.

In *A Clue to Wesley's Sermons* (Epworth Press, pp. 44, 2s.), Dr. C. Leslie Mitton seeks to elucidate the essential evangelical message contained in the eighteen sermons prescribed for local preachers' studies, of which message each sermon is only a part.

THE FIRST IRISH CONFERENCE

THE year 1752 was notable for two earthquakes in England and also for the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar and the consequent "loss" of eleven days. In Methodist history the year is notable for the first Irish Conference, which Wesley held in Limerick on 14th and 15th August.

The first contact of Methodism with Limerick was in 1738, when George Whitefield on a return voyage from America was driven ashore by gales on the coast of Clare. He was hospitably received by the Bishop of Limerick and preached in the cathedral. Twelve years later Robert Swindells stood at the gates of Limerick castle and preached to an immense audience. He was secure against mob molestation because the 42nd Scottish Highlanders (the "Black Watch") were stationed in the castle. About a month later Thomas Williams followed Swindells, and under his labours a Methodist society was formed. Amongst those who were influenced or converted were Philip Guier, the teacher of the German school at Ballingrane, Thomas Walsh, Mrs. Elizabeth Bennis, with whom in later years Wesley had a long and instructive correspondence; and Mrs. Myles, mother of William Myles, the early historian of Methodism.

The first Methodist place of worship in Limerick was a derelict church in St. Francis Abbey, a building of the Knights Templars, in Quay Lane, now Bridge Street. After a few years a more convenient chapel was built in Bank Place. I have a photostat copy of a letter of Isaac Waldron dated from Limerick, 22nd April 1763, in which he says: "Our new preaching-house is to be opened on Sunday, May 1st; Pray for a blessing." Half a century later, in 1812, the congregation removed to a new church in George's Street.

It was probably in the St. Francis Abbey preaching-house that Wesley held the first Conference. He summoned to it nearly all the preachers who were working in Ireland at the time. One of them, Jacob Rowell, wrote the "Minutes" of the Conference, from which we learn the names of those present and an outline of the business done. There were ten preachers present, including James Morris, who was the means of the conversion of Augustus Toplady, and Robert Swindells. Six new preachers were admitted on trial. The business was done in the form of question and answer, as is the Conference custom still; and the first question in general business was: "What is the cause of the general decay of the circuits in Ireland?" Astonishing! The answer given was, in brief—Calvinism and the laziness of the preachers.

Why Limerick was chosen as the place for this first Conference in Ireland we cannot say. The city was the third largest in the country, but it would appear to have been more suitable for the preachers to meet in Dublin, as they did in many subsequent years, or even in Cork, the second largest city. Eight years later there

ANNUAL MEETING AND LECTURE

THE spreading of Conference activities over a goodly number of West Lancashire towns this year had the expected repercussion on the annual gatherings of the Wesley Historical Society. Far fewer than usual were present to appreciate the hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Ibberson at the Springfield Road Methodist church, Blackpool, on Wednesday, 16th July. By the time of the Annual Meeting, however, the numbers had increased, and for the Lecture itself quite a large congregation was present in the church. The printed Lecture is reviewed elsewhere in this issue, and we need say no more here than that Mr. Benson Perkins had "a good time" as lecturer, and that Mr. Ernest Farrington, substituting for Mr. Soutter Smith, proved an ideal chairman.

It was a joy to the members of the Annual Meeting that our President, the Rev. F. F. Bretherton, B.A., was able to be present and take the chair, in his 84th year. The gathering was saddened by the loss of a number of valued workers in the field of Methodist history during the past year, especially the recent and sudden passing of one of our former lecturers, Dr. Wilbert F. Howard. Most of all, however, we missed the familiar figure of our former Auditor, Dr. Duncan Coomer, whose service, advice and generosity have meant so much to the Society. The Minutes record our indebtedness to him. Mr. John F. Mills was appointed Auditor in succession to Dr. Coomer.

Owing to Dr. Coomer's death, the accounts had not been audited this year, but the Treasurer, Mr. Ibberson, presented a statement showing a loss on the year of about £10. The Secretary reported that membership was still increasing, there having been a net gain of twenty-four during the year, making a total of 693 members. We confidently believe that this will be well past 700 by next year, but at the same time appeal to all our members to recruit others, as the most effective method of balancing our accounts and of maintaining and improving the value of our *Proceedings*.

Indifferent health and heavy responsibilities compelled Miss C. M. Bretherton to tender her resignation to the Society. The Meeting expressed great regret that this course was necessary, and directed that an appreciation of Miss Bretherton's services, first as Assistant Secretary and then as Registrar, should be placed on the Minutes. Mr. Rowland C. Swift was appointed her successor.

The Secretary reported on the progress of the Society's Lending Library, and appealed for help in securing books. Mr. L. E. S. Gutteridge was appointed Honorary Librarian. All other officers were thanked and reappointed.

The Rev. Dr. R. Newton Flew was appointed to deliver the Society's official Lecture at the Birmingham Conference of 1953, on "The Structure of Charles Wesley's Hymns", and it was decided to ask the Rev. E. Gordon Rupp to be the lecturer in 1954.

Greetings from the Irish Branch were brought in person by Mr. W. C. Jones of Belfast, one of the representatives from the Irish Conference.

FRANK BAKER.

BOOK NOTICES

Hugh Bourne: A Chronicle Play, by George Percival. (Epworth Press, pp. 59, 2s.)

This play, written to celebrate the centenary of Hugh Bourne's death, has so many good things in it that one hates having to say what a disappointing *play* it is. But because Methodism is so rich in great men and so increasingly hospitable to drama, one would be failing in responsibility if one did not urge that fifty small pages divided into eleven scenes are not adequate for a grand life from twelve to eighty years of age. Such a play should have more in common with a symphony than a short suite; it needs more massive structure and deeper development. Things happen too slickly, and there is always so much more one wants to know, *within the incidents chosen*. The conflict with the local Wesleyan Methodists is never fairly developed.

The departure from the naturalistic style in Scene 9, when one soliloquy attempts to forecast the developments of forty years, is bad technique; there are too many soliloquies all through. The conversion of Daniel Shubotham in so short a space of time *on the stage* (after nearly four pages of unregeneracy, there is a page and three-quarters of preparation and two brief speeches for the actual conversion) would not have a good effect on a modern audience. Also I was seriously perturbed at the absence of any mention of Shubotham's need for penitence.

Please, Epworth Press, do not give us any more *little* plays on great themes.

JESSIE POWELL.

Methodist Preaching Houses and the Law: The Story of the Model Deed, by E. Benson Perkins. The Wesley Historical Society Lectures, No. 18. (Epworth Press, pp. 94, 5s.)

Mr. Benson Perkins' retirement from the active ministry has coincided with the publication of a book on a theme very near to his heart. No one was more qualified to describe the evolution of the Model Deed, for Mr. Perkins has seen "chapel affairs" from the inside during the last thirteen years; and, not surprisingly, we discover that the evangelist, sociologist and administrator we have known so long is also a Methodist historian of no mean order. The result is a Lecture worthy of the best of its predecessors, and a theme with a moralizing as well as an historical value.

The rapid growth in the number of "preaching-houses" confronted Wesley with a double problem: the importance of licensing them under the Toleration Act and the need for some effective legal settlement and control. The early preachers tried valiantly to solve the latter problem, and the unsatisfactory nature of their amateurish efforts is well illustrated in the 1750 deed of the Allendale chapel. Wesley's first step towards a permanent solution was the first "Model Deed" of 1763. This "pattern deed" secured that after the death of the Wesleys the Conference would have the right of appointing preachers; it defined Methodist doctrine for the first time in the now-familiar phrase about the *Sermons* and the *Notes*; and it indicated the method by which new trustees should be appointed. The next step was to define the Conference in the Deed of Declaration of 1784. Then followed a period of controversy, in which the Dewsbury and Bristol chapels were pro-

minent, relating chiefly to the rights of trustees in relation to the Conference. Only one step remained: the "Model Deed" of 1832, which incorporated some improvements based on the experience of eighty years, and by its character as a "deed of reference" avoided the necessity of reciting the trusts in every further deed settled on this basis.

Mr. Perkins does not neglect the other Methodist bodies, who profited considerably in these matters by the experience of the Wesleyans. Indeed, an Appendix contains a valuable Comparative Table which lists the eight Methodist deeds and compares their more important characteristics. Finally, Mr. Perkins shows that the Model Deed has permanent significance inasmuch as our legal system combines the freedom of local trustees with the authority of the Conference, and so achieves a synthesis which is the basis of our Connexionalism.

This book is good, satisfying fare, and its appearance is timely, for it recalls us to first principles and reminds us of our *Connexional* heritage and responsibilities. Its quotations from Wesley's *Journal* and *Letters* are always apt and vivid: we rejoiced to see the famous phrase about the "villainous tautology of lawyers which is the scandal of the nation". We have only one complaint: the author's fondness for initial capital letters; and one question: why is our present deed styled a "Model Deed"? By all the tokens of this Lecture it is a "Reference Deed" and none other.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

William Clowes, 1780-1851, by John T. Wilkinson. (Epworth Press, pp. 104, 6s.)

William Clowes has always been a name of note on the lips of Primitive Methodists, and to many somewhat of a legendary figure. There have been reasonably good biographies of him before, though his own *Journals*—now a rarity—remain the best printed source of information about him. The new volume by Mr. Wilkinson is not so exhaustive as the nineteenth-century "lives" by Davison and Garner, but it is more carefully documented, as well as more selective. For the most part it is a straightforward chronicling of the main events of Clowes's story as told in his *Journals*—with occasional corrections, however, since Clowes wrote much of his autobiography from later memory. Additional touches from many other sources fill out the picture, and full use is made of such authorities as the *Primitive Methodist Magazine* and *Minutes*, and the manuscript letters and journals both of Bourne and Clowes. Mr. Wilkinson makes it quite clear, however, that Clowes could not compare with Bourne as a writer, neither for merit nor for output; indeed, only seventeen of Clowes's letters have been traced. He was pre-eminently a preacher, and his tremendous influence in this capacity is traced to his deep devotional life. We might, indeed, describe him as a mystic, though I believe that the author never uses the term of him. In two appendixes Mr. Wilkinson discusses the much-debated question of whether William Clowes or Hugh Bourne was the chief founder of Primitive Methodism, and throws new light on the relationship between the two men.

As we should expect, the volume throughout eschews the merely sentimental—though the author is not afraid of sentiment. He writes, however, as a scientific historian. One welcome sign of this is his discarding of the familiar engraving of Clowes in favour of a reproduction of an oil painting preserved at Hartley Victoria College.

FRANK BAKER.

NOTES AND QUERIES

924. MRS. MARY TAFT: A CORRECTION.

In *Proceedings*, xxvii, p. 63, I stated that Mrs. Mary Taft was the daughter of the Rev. John Barritt. This was an error on my part. Mary Taft was John Barritt's sister. W. L. DOUGHTY.

925. JOHN DOWNES AND TREWINT.

At the Isbell cottage at Trewint, on the edge of the Bodmin moors, we are able to preserve the memory of the hospitable Cornish stonemason and his wife, and, of course, of John Wesley. Recently we have erected in our tiny garden a replica of John Nelson's sundial at Birstall. We should very much like to have some link with John Downes—a letter, a portrait, the photostat of an entry in a parish register, or some other personal link. Our gratitude will be great to any reader of the *Proceedings* who can help us in this way.

STANLEY SOWTON.

926. "THE BEDFORD ASSOCIATION".

I wonder if your contributor (*Proceedings*, xxviii, p. 95) knows two books on this movement. They are: John Brown, *Centenary History of the Bedfordshire Union of Christians* (1896), and David Prothero, *The History of the Bedfordshire Union of Christians: The Story Continued 1897-1946* (1946). The Union is now, and long since, known as "The Bedfordshire Union of Baptist and Congregational Churches", and is in association with the Congregational Union of England and Wales and the Baptist Union. Your folk in fact do not seem to have come into it.

CHARLES E. SURMAN

(Hon. Sec., Congregational Historical Society).

927. CATALOGUE OF PICTURES AT THE METHODIST MISSION HOUSE.

The Missionary Society has recently published a descriptive catalogue of the forty-one portraits which hang upon the walls of 25, Marylebone Road, London, and which, taken together, furnish "illustrations of the course of the Methodist movement throughout the world".

The catalogue (pp. 19) is a valuable historical record of a unique collection, and the Missionary Committee is to be commended for its enterprise. Further information, however, is desired about the portrait of John Wesley (No. 4) which is described as "By an unknown Artist". It shows Wesley, elderly or aged, with white hair, seen from the right. The face is almost in profile, the left side appearing only a little. The official description reads:

Nothing is known about this picture—neither who painted it, nor how it was acquired. It resembles several portraits of Wesley taken in his old age, such as the miniatures by Arnold and Barry, the picture given in 1808 by Dr. Coke to Daniel Hitt—the Methodist Book Agent in New York—and the portrait, painted by Benjamin West at Doncaster, a little time before John Wesley's death.

If members of the Wesley Historical Society would view this portrait when next they visit the Mission House and give an opinion on it, they would render a service to the Missionary Committee.

EDGAR W. THOMPSON.